

Message Text

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SUBJECT: TOGO DEPARTURE SPEECH

1. THE JAN 20 SPEECH TO THE JAPAN AMERICAN SOCIETY AND THE AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE GIVEN BY AMBASSADOR TOGO TO MARK HIS DEPARTURE FOR THE UNITED STATES IS A SOLID AND RATHER ELOQUENT REVIEW OF POST-WAR RELATIONS BETWEEN THE US AND JAPAN IN THE CONTEXT OF CHANGING WORLD DEVELOPMENTS. BELIEVED TO BE ALL HIS OWN WORK, THE SPEECH SHOWS TOGO'S EXPERIENCED GRASP OF HIS SUBJECT MATTER AND HIS STRONG FEELINGS FOR AMERICA AND AMERICANS. THOUGH THE DEPARTMENT AND OTHER AMERICANS WILL DOUBTLESS HEAR MANY MORE SIMILAR STATEMENTS, WE QUOTE THE SPEECH IN ITS ENTIRETY AS A FITTING INTRODUCTION TO TOGO IN HIS NEW ROLE.

2. BEGIN QUOTE:

REMARKS BY MR. FUMIHIKO TOGO
AT THE LUNCHEON GIVEN BY THE JAPAN-AMERICA SOCIETY
AND THE AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE IN TOKYO
JANUARY 20, 1976

MY WIFE AND I HAVE ATTENDED ON MANY OCCASIONS IN THE PAST LUNCHEONS GIVEN BY THE JAPAN-AMERICA SOCIETY AND THE AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE IN TOKYO, AND I FEEL HONORED TODAY TO BE
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GUEST SPEAKER AT THIS DISTINGUISHED GATHERING AS A TRADITIONAL

DUTY PRIOR TO THE ASSUMPTION OF AMBASSADORSHIP IN WASHINGTON.

FIFTEEN MONTHS AGO PRESIDENT FORD VISITED JAPAN AS THE FIRST AMERICAN PRESIDENT TO DO SO WHILE IN OFFICE, BRINGING THE UNITED STATES CLOSER TO THE JAPANESE PEOPLE OF ALL WALKS OF LIFE THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. OCTOBER LAST YEAR THEIR MAJESTIES THE EMPEROR AND THE EMPRESS MADE THEIR HISTORIC VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES. THEIR MAJESTIES' TRIP WAS SO SUCCESSFUL, WITH WARM WELCOME AND KIND ATTENTION EXTENDED TO THEM ENTHUSIASTICALLY BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE EVERYWHERE THEY WENT, THAT IN THE MINDS OF MANY JAPANESE, EVEN THE HISTORIC EVENT IN THE PRECEDING YEAR WAS ALMOST OVERSHADOWED. AS THOSE TWO STATE VISITS SYMBOLIZED, AND AS AMBASSADOR HODGSON OBSERVED A FEW MONTHS AGO, THIS IS PROBABLY A "NO-PROBLEM" ERA OF THE JAPANESE-AMERICAN RELATIONSHIP. THE TASK BEFORE US WILL BE TO DEEPEN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP IN ALL ITS ASPECTS AS WELLAS TO EXPAND THE SCOPE OF OUR COOPERATION IN THE BROADER CONTEXT OF ASIA AND THE WORLD.

AS I LOOK FORWARD TO MY NEW RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE UNITED STATES, I WISH TO TAKE A LITTLE TIME TO LOOK BACK ON THE PATHS THE RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES HAVE FOLLOWED IN THE LAST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS.

FOR MANY YEARS THE PREPONDERANT PART OF THE BUSINESS OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS WAS AMERICAN AFFAIRS. NOR IS THIS TO BE WONDERED AT. WHEN JAPAN WAS RESTORED IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WITH THE COMING INTO FORCE OF THE SAN FRANCISCO PEACE TREATY, JAPAN CONCLUDED THE SECURITY TREATY WITH THE UNITED STATES, THEREBY FILLING THE VACUUM OF POWER IN THE AFTERMATH OF HER DEFEAT WITH THE PRESENCE OF THE AMERICAN MILITARY FORCES. THESE WERE THE DAYS OF "COLD WAR", OR THE TENSION BETWEEN THE EAST AND THE WEST. IN SPITE OF THE GENERAL INSECURITY THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, JAPAN, UNDER THE SHIELD OF THE SECURITY TREATY COULD DEVOTE ALL HERRESOURCES TO ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT. IN THE SUBSEQUENT YEARS, WITH THE RESTORATION OF JAPAN'S ECONOMIC CAPABILITIES AND A RENEWAL OF NATIONAL ASSERTIVENESS, THE TASK OF JAPAN'S DIPLOMACY WAS THE PURSUIT OF AN "EQUAL PARTNERSHIP" WITH THE UNITED

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STATES, AS IT WAS THEN CALLED.

ONE OF THE SYMBOLIC EVENTS IN THIS PROCESS WAS THE REVISION OF THE SECURITY TREATY IN 1960. THE ESSENCE OF THE REVISION WAS TO ELIMINATE SUCH ELEMENTS IN THE TREATY AS WERE CRITICIZED IN JAPAN AS BEING ONE-SIDED IN FAVOR OF THE UNITED STATES. HARD NEGOTIATIONS ON THIS ISSUE WERE SUCCESSFULLY CONCLUDED UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF PRESIDENT

EISENHOWER AND PRIME MINISTER KISHI, WHO I AM PARTICULARLY HONORED TO HAVE AS HOST TO THIS LUNCHEON. IN THE COURSE OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S ADMINISTRATION THE BONIN ISLANDS WERE RETURNED TO JAPAN IN 1968, PAVING THE WAY FOR THE REVERSION OF OKINAWA. THE LATE PRIME MINISTER SATO DECLARED IN 1965 THAT "JAPAN'S POST-WAR ERA DOES NOT END UNTIL THE OKINAWA ISLANDS ARE RETURNED TO JAPAN." EVEN THIS PLITICALLY AND MILITARILY SENSITIVE ISSUE WAS AMICABLY RESOLVED IN 1972, THANKS TO THE STATESMSHIP OF THE LATE MR. SATO AND PRESIDENT NIXON. I RECALL THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTERS, AND FOR THAT MATTER THE PRIME MINISTERS, USED TO SPARE ANY AMOUNT OF TIME OUT OF THEIR BUSY SCHEDULE FOR THE AMERICAN AFFAIRS IN WHICH IN FOREIGN MINISTRY WAS ENGAGED.

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THROUGHOUT THOSE YEARS, THERE WAS A CLEAR LOGIC AND PURPOSE TO JAPAN'S FOREIGN POLICY. I MIGHT SAY THAT IT WAS THE PURSUIT OF SECURITY AND PROSPEERITY THROUGH PAARTNER-SHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES. THE FUNDAMENTALS OF THIS POLICY WILL BE FIRMLY MAINTAINED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN, AS SUCCESSIVE PRIME MINISTERS, MOST RECENTLY PRIME MINISTER MIKI, HAVE STATED ON MANY OCCASIONS, EVEN THOUGH THE DAY TO DAY BUSINESS OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY HAS OBVIOUSLY BECOME MORE COMPLEX AND DIVERSIFIED, AS THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE ITSELF HAS CHANGED.

THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA HAS TAKEN ITS SEAT IN THE UNITED NATIONS; THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY HAS EVOLVED

INTO A MAJOR ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL FORCE; THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION HAVE BEEN IN SEARCH OF A COURSE OF DETENTE; THE THIRD WORLD HAS ENHANCED ITS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC VOICE IN WORLD AFFAIRS. THE ERA OF BI-POLAR STRUCTURE HAS GIVEN WAY TO MULTI-POLARIZATION. FOR JAPAN'S PART, THE REVERSION OF OKINAWA AND THE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH CHINA, TO PUT IT SIMPLY, MARKED A NEW PHASE IN HER EXTERNAL RELATIONS. IN FACT, AS VICE-MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, I SPENT MORE OF MY TIME ON KOREAN AND CHINESE AFFAIRS OR THOSE RELATED TO THE THIRD WORLD.

I DO NOT GO INTO WHAT THE ISSUES ARE IN THE KOREAN OR CHINESE AFFAIRS, NOR NEED I EMPHASIZE THEIR IMPOTANCE FOR UNCLASSIFIED

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JAPAN. HOWEVER, I SHOULD LIKE TO RECALL THAT FROM THE MOMENT WHEN JAPAN OPENED THE COUNTRY TO THE WORLD UNDER THE MEIJI RESTORATION, THE SUBJECT MATTER OF JAPAN'S FOREIGN POLICY WAS THE KOREAN AND CHINESE AFAIRS, OR THE CONTINENTAL PROBLEM AS THEY WERE REFEERRED TO. EVENTUALLY JAPAN PLUNGED INTO THE WAR WITH THE UNITED STATES ON ACCUNT OF THE CONTINENTAL PROBLEM. LATE IN DECEMBER 1941 WHEN THE JAPANESE EMBASSY STAFF IN WASHINGTON WER TO LEAVE THE EMBASSY COMPOUND FOR HOT SPRINGS, VIRGINIA, THE THEN AMBASSADOR, LATE ADMIRAL NOMURA OPENED HIS LAST ADDRESS TO THE STAFF WITH THE WORLDS, "MY MISSION HAS FAILED". THESE WORDS STILL RESOUND IN MY EARS. THIS PAST COURSE MUST NOT BE REPEATED.

WHILE JAPAN'S EXTERNAL PROBLEMS ARE GETTING MORE COMPLEX, THE IMPORTANCE OF THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES REMAINS UNCHANGED. WE HAVE TO REMIND OURSELVES ALWAYS TO BEVIGILANT TO PREVENT PROBLEMS FROM ARISING BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES, AND TO TAKE GOOD CARE TO SOLVE ANY ISSUE BETWEEN THEM REGRADLESS OF WHETHER IT LOOKS BIG OR MINOR.

JAPAN'S GEOGRAPHY PLACES HER AMONGST THE THREE MAJOR POWERS: CHINA, THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES. THE STABILITY OF THE JAPAN AREA IS DEPENDENT ON THE EQUILIBRIUM OF POWER AMONG THESE THREE COUNTRIES. AFTER THE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH CHINA, JAPAN IS IN THE PROCESS OF DEVELOPING FRIENDLY AND MEANINGFUL RELATION WITH HER. AT THE SAME TIME, JAPAN CONTINUES TO PAY CAREFUL CONSIDERATIONS FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, ANOTHER BIG NEIGHBOUR TO THE WEST. THE UNITED STATES, AS A PACIFIC POWER, HAS PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN ASIAA IN THE YEAS AFTER THE WAR. JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES SHARE THE SAME SOCIAL SYSTEM AND COMMON GOALS. IT IS THEREFORE VERYIMPORTANT FOR JAPAN THAT THE UNITED STATES CONTINUES TO BE INTERESTED IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD SO THAT THE

POWER RELATIONS IN ASIA AMONG THE THREE BIG COUNTRIES ARE NOT DISRUPTED. THE MERIT OF THE JAPANESE-AMERICAN SECURITY TREATY MUST BE DULY APPRAISED FROM SUCH A POINT OF VIEW CONSISTENT WITH THE CHANGING INTERNATIONAL CIRCUMSTANCES IN ASIA.

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I AM CERTAIN THAT THE FREE NATIONS OF SOUTHEAST ASIA SHARE THE BASIC LOGIC OF EQUILIBRIUM IN THIS AREA. WHEN THE SITUATION IN VIETNAM CHANGED DRASTICALLY LAST SPRING WE HEARD SOME TALK ABOUT DISSOLCIATION OF THE SOUTHEAST ASIAN COUNTRIES FROM THE UNITED STATES. HOWEVER, WHEN I VISITED THE ASEAN COUNTRIES TOWARD THE END OF LAST YEAR AND EXCHANGED VIEWS WITH THEIR RESPONSIBLE OFFICIALS, THERE WAS NO TALK ABOUT DISSOCIATING FROM THE UNITED STATES. THESE OFFICIALS EMPHASIZED THE NEED FOR NATIONAL RESILIENCE AND ON-INTERVENTION FROM OUTSIDE, AND RECOGNIZED THE IMPORTANCE THAT THE UNITED STATES CONTINUES TO BE INTERESTED IN ASIAN AFFAIRS. IN ESSENCE, THE RELATONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES HAS TO BE ASSESSED AS ONE OF THE INTEGRAL ELEMNTS IN THE WHOLE ASIAN SECURITY, WHICH IN TURN IS OF VITAL INTEREST TO JAPAN.

WHEN PRESIDENT FORD VISITED HERE, HE DELIVERED AN IMORTANT ADDRESS AT THE JAPAN PRESS CLUB. THERE WERE A FEW PASSAGES WHICH PARTICULARLY IMPRESSSED ME, AND I QUOTE, "AMERICANS ARE READY AND WILLING TO PLAY THEIR PART WITH THE SAME STRENGTH AND SAME WILL THAT THEY HAVE ALWAYS SHOWN IN THE PAST.....THE AMERICAN PEOPLE REMAIN STRONG, CONFIDENT AND FAITHFUL. WE MAY SOMETIMES FALTER, BUT WE WILL NOT FALL." THESE ARE WORDS WHICH ONLY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES CAN UTTER. THEY CARRY SIGNIFICANT WEIGHT IN THE SHAPING OF POLITICAL RELATIONS IN ASIA.

ANOTHER IMPORTANT ASPECT OF JAPANESE-AMERICAN RELATIONS IS, OF COURSE, THE ECONOMIC. BILATERALLY WE HAVE GONE THROUGH PERIODS OF TRADE IMBALANCES, MARKT DISRUPTIONS, TRADE RESTRICTIONS, AND VARIOUS OTHER PROBLEMS, ALL OF WHICH WE HAVE SUCCESSFULLY SURMOUNTED. NOW WE ARE IN A PERIOD OF RELATIVE TRANQUILITY IN OUR BILATERAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS. NOR NEED I RECITE FOR THIS INFORMED AUDIENCE THE STATISTICS WHICH DEMONSTRATE THE IMPORTANT BENEFITS, TO BOTH SIDES, OR OUR TRADE AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS. HOWEVER, THERE ARE POTENTIAL PROBLEMS, AND EXPERIENCE HAS TAUGHT US THAT WE MUST ALWAYS BE ON THE LOOKOUT FOR POSSIBLE FRICTIONS, MOVING QUICKLY TO EASE THEM BEFORE THEY BECOME SERIOUS.

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AS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS HAVE INCREASINGLY TAKEN POLITICAL AND GLOBAL NATURE IN RECENT YEARS, CONSULTATION AND COOPERATION BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES ON MULTILATERAL ECONOMIC ISSUES HAVE BECOME NO LESS IMPORTANT THAN THE SOLUTION OF BILATERAL PROBLEMS. IT SEEMS ONLY YESTERDAY THAT IN THE EARLY FIFTIES THE UNITED STATES UNTIRINGLY EXTENDED A HELPING HAND TO GET JAPAN INTO GATT AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS TO RESTORE HER INTO THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COMMUNITY. NOW AS PRIME MINISTER MIKI'S RECENT PRESENCE AT THE RAMBOUILLET CASTLE SHOWS, JAPAN HAS BECOME ONE OF THE WORLD ECONOMIC POWERS WITH CORRESPONDING GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITIES.

AS A TRADING NATION WITHOUT NATURAL RESOURCES OF HER OWN, JAPAN IS VITALLY INTERESTED IN A STABLE SUPPLY OF RAW MATERIALS. AT THE SAME TIME JAPAN HAS MUCH TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE STEADY DEVELOPMENT OF WORLD ECONOMY THROUGH ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION AS WELL AS THE PROVISION OF CAPITAL, AND INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL TECHNOLOGY. AS ONE OF THE PARTNERS IN THE COMMUNITY OF INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES, JAPAN SHARES COMMON INTERESTS WITH THE UNITED STATES IN THE HEALTHY GROWTH OF A FREE AND OPEN WORLD ECONOMIC SYSTEM. THIS COMMUNITY OF NATIONS IS STILL RECOVERING FROM ECONOMIC RECESSION. TOGETHER WE ARE SEEKING SOLUTIONS FOR SERIOUS PROBLEMS SUCH AS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE THIRD WORLD AND ISSUES RELATED TO

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ENERGY, FOOD AND OTHER PRIMARY PRODUCTS. JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES HAVE KEPT THEMSELVES IN CLOSE CONTACT ON ALL THESE GLOBAL ECONOMIC ISSUES. WHILE THE POSITIONS OF THE TWO COUNTRIES ARE NOT ALWAYS IDENTICAL, CONSULTATION WILL ALWAYS BE USEFUL, AS PROVED BY EXPERIENCE, AND OUR COOPERATION IS ESSENTIAL TO A CONSTRUCTIVE OUTCOME.

TODAY COMMUNICATIONS AT VARIOUS LEVELS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES ARE VERY ACTIVE, AND CULTURAL AND SOCIAL EXCHANGES ARE PROMOTED AT ALL STRATA. FURTHERMORE, THE SEARCH FOR A BETTER LIFE THROUGH IMPROVEMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT OF THROUGH SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCES MOTIVATES OUR TWO PEOPLES TO WORK TOGETHER. THERE ARE ABUNDANT OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE TWO COUNTRIES TO BENEFIT FROM EACH OTHER IN THESE RELATIVELY NEW FIELDS;

I HAVE TRIED TO SET FORTH HOW I LOOK AT THE CURRENT RELATIONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES AND WHAT IS IN STORE. THE AUDIENCE WILL PLEASE FORGIVE ME IF, IN DOING SO, I TENDED TO GO ASTRAY INTO MY PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS. I HAVE ALSO TRIED TO OBSERVE THAT THE DIMENSIONS OF THE JAPANESE-AMERICAN RELATIONS ARE NO LONGER BILATERAL ALONE, BUT THAT IN MANY WAYS THE TWO COUNTRIES CONSULT AND COOPERATE WITH EACH OTHER TO COPE WITH VARIOUS PROBLEMS OF GLOBAL NATURE.

JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES HAVE DIFFERENT HISTORICAL BACKGROUNDS AND HERITAGES. I AM OFTEN AMUSED TO READ HOW THE EARLY JAPANESE DELEGATIONS TO THE UNITED STATES A LITTLE OVER A HUNDRED YEARS AGO WERE PERPLEXED AT ENTIRELY NEW AND DIFFERENT WAYS OF WELCOME AND RECEPTION IN THE AMERICAN CITIES. THE JAPANESE MENTALITY, BRED THROUGH THE LONG HISTORY OF AN ISLAND NATION INCLUDING THREE HUNDRED YEARS OF SECLUSION FROM THE OUTSIDE WORLD, OFTEN TENDS TO BE INWARD LOOKING. ALTERNATIVELY, AMERICA A HUNDRED YEARS AGO IS ASSOCIATED IN MY MIND WITH FAMILIAR MOVIES OF THE WILD WEST. THE TRADITION OF RUGGED INDIVIDUALISM, I VENTURE TO SAY, IS SOMETIMES REFLECTED IN THE MANNER IN WHICH THE UNITED STATES HANDLES HER EXTERNAL DEALINGS.

NONETHELESS, JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES SHARE COMMON SOCIAL SYSTEM AND COMMON GOALS. MOREOVER, IT IS NOW ACCEPTED

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THAT THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES HAVE NEVER BEEN BETTER. IT IS UP TO US TO PROMOTE AND DEVELOP THIS HAPPY RELATIONSHIP. I WISH TO CONCLUDE MY OBSERVATION BY TAKING ADVICE FROM AN OLD SAYING: "TO ACCOMPLISH AN UNDERTAKING IS NOT SO DIFFICULT AS TO MAINTAIN AND PRESERVE IT."

IT IS A GOOD FORTUNE FOR ME THAT I AM GOING TO THE
UNITED STATES IN THIS BICENTENIAL YEAR OF AMERICAN
INDEPENDENCE. IN ASSUMING DUTIES IN WASHINGTON, I FEEL
REASSURED THAT OUR GOOD FRIEND AMBASSADOR HODGSON IS IN TOKYO
TO REPRESENT THE UNITED STATES, WITH HIS ALWAYS QUICK AND
PRECISE GRASP OF THE COMMON INTERESTS OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES.
I TAKE STRONG ENCOURAGEMENT IN THAT THE DISTINGUISHED MEMBERS
OF THE JAPAN-AMERICA SOCIETY AND THE AMERICAN CHAMBER OF
COMMERCE IN TOKYO TAKE LEAD IN PROMOTING MEANINGFUL COMMUNICATIONS
AMONG THE TWO PEOPLES AND FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION BETWEEN
THE TWO COUNTRIES.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.
SHOESMITH

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